2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

117 not like a foreigner bringing in a new religion to his country. We talked for quite a long time and at last he got so worked up as to lose his temper. In order to clinch his side of the matter with more emphasis, he wound up by seizing a fire-brand and giving the fire itself a big blow with it, and then stalked out. That was the very worst thing he could have done for himself and his cause, but the best thing possible for me and mine. The Ainu who were present were astonished beyond measure at this great breach of etiquette. The fireplace is the very seat of the goddess of fire, the great ancestress of the Ainu race. It was a fearful insult to her and to all of them. With that blow both the man and his arguments lost all respect.

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574 576 I found the Ainu a very hospitable people, but sometimes guests would outstay their welcome. What, then, could be done to get them to leave? In such a case Penri told me that his people made a kind of feast which was named "The feast of being sent back, the mouth having been cooked for." By making this feast and calling in a few friends to share it with the guest, a big hint was given him that his absence would be more valued than his presence. When the feast was over the friends would all bid him "good bye!" If he did not take the hint and continued to stay on, the hostess would go with her husband and lodge with a neighbour till he walked off. I have seen this done once only. I thought it was a splendid idea and in the case I have in mind it was not considered as a breach of etiquette, nor did it destroy friendship. It was a well understood proceeding.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

CHAPTER XXIII

THE TWO HOUSEHOLD GODS

The fire as it exists upon the hearth and in volcanoes also has often been spoken of in these chapters as being a Goddess who is frequently worshipped. She is indeed a very important deity and figures much in Ainu thought and religion. She is called *Huchi* or *Fuji*, which means "Old Woman" and "Grandmother." I believe it to be the same *Fuji* as in Fuji no Yama, the peerless and sacred mountain of Japan, and this is therefore an old Ainu name. Fuji no Yama is a dormant volcano, and volcanoes are everywhere worshipped under the name *Fuji Kamui* (*i.e.* Divine Grandmother) by this people. It is my purpose in this chapter briefly to take this Goddess of Fire in hand and show what her special functions are supposed to be. Before doing so, however, I think it would be well to speak of *Fuji's* husband.

Fuji is a married lady and her man is of great importance, as every husband ought surely to be. As to the origin of ordinary fire, that is to say, of fire as used in common daily life out of doors and in, the Ainu have no theory excepting that the very first fire came down from Heaven as lightning. Their forefathers, we are told, produced it for themselves when necessary from sticks and drills of dry elm roots and tinder, and later by means of the flint and steel which they got with other things from their Japanese neighbours. Fuji's husband is called the Ancestral Governor of the House.

Any visitor to the Ainu is sure to find set up behind the lacquer-ware tubs and heirlooms in the north-

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2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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Yakut RY2

ing hour together, comparing the Yakut and Ainu people. He told me that he could not discern any similarity between the two races, either in physique, general customs or language. However, he mentioned a thing or two about the Yakuts' superstitions regarding fire, which were of great interest to me.

While the Ainu people look upon fire as it exists upon the hearth as of the feminine gender, the Yakuts hold it to be masculine. The divine spirit, which is the essence of fire, is supposed by them to be a grey-haired and most fussy old man. He is never entirely at rest and is a very garrulous old fellow. The cracking, snapping, jumping and hissing of fire are his remarks and whisperings. What his whisperings and shuffling about mean, ordinary people do not understand, yet the shamans and infants who have not yet learnt to speak understand it quite well, just as they are said to understand what the birds say to one another in their singing and chirping.

Like the Ainu "Old Woman Fire," the Yakut "Old Man Fire" knows what people are saying and doing about him in the houses, so all must be careful not to hurt his feelings, for that would be very dangerous. Rubbish may not be cast into the fire, and one must take care that no leaves or dirt be scraped off one's footgear near it. Nor must the fire be poked with any iron instrument. Moreover, the wooden fire-tongs must be burned up every ten days or so, and new ones provided. Unless these taboos are strictly adhered to, headaches and general misfortune will ensue.

A good housewife always takes care that the "Old Man Fire" may be satisfied with her, and she casts into it a small portion of everything which is being prepared for eating. The Hokkaidō Ainu custom is not so. It is the men alone who worship fire among these, and make offerings to it. I have never yet seen an Ainu woman on this island worshipping the fire or making offerings to it. The Yakuts say that as no one

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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ever knows what kind of temper the "Old Man Fire" may be in, as he sits there burning upon the hearth, it behoves everyone to conciliate him often by offering him little gifts, for he is a very jealous one. He is said to love fat, butter and cream better than anything else.

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As regards firelight, there are two interesting taboos connected therewith. No young man may pass beyond the strip of light which falls from the household fire, to cross over to the women's side of the hearth; nor may any woman, if she can possibly avoid it, pass through the strip of light in front of the hearth. Any transgression of these two taboos would bring dire trouble, the Yakuts believe.

THE KAMUI

776 account she came forth from an elm-tree impregnated by Kando-koro Kamui, also called Rikun Kando Kamui, the Possessor of the Heavens. A third and common account makes her emerge from the [372] fire-drill, and according to a variant of this both Kamui Fuchi and [794] Kinashut Kamui derive from the fire-drill. Because of her close association with wood, a myth derives her *ramat* from the spirit of vegetation.

As I understand it, Kamui Fuchi is the judge who punishes any misconduct, ritual or ethical, in this life by visiting upon the offender some misfortune or withdrawing her protection against evil spirits. I have been unable to confirm Batchelor's statement that she is concerned with a final 'day of judgment' by 'the great judge of all'.

Nusa-koro Kamui is held in high esteem, equal or nearly equal to that of Kamui Fuchi, who, according to some accounts, is his sister. But he is appealed to less frequently.

776 778 As will be described later, all *pase* (important or weighty) *kamui* have their own assigned positions where *inau* are placed for them. That of Kamui Fuchi is the hearth, and is the most revered of all. The next best place is reserved for Nusa-koro Kamui; it is outside the sacred window and to the left of it. At Nibutani, where the window faces east, it is to the north-east. These sacred places, or rather the *inau* set up there, contain *ramat* of their respective *kamui*.

776 [552] The name Nusa-koro Kamui[1] is really an epithet, as are nearly all titles of *kamui* and of persons. Even the most sacred names, which may only be uttered on serious occasions and then *sotto voce*, are epithets. In prayers he is addressed as Kotan-koresu (village raising) Kamui.

[769] [795] [798] [782] The nature of Nusa-koro Kamui is somewhat mysterious, but investigation reveals a close connection with ancestor worship and of traces of a snake cult. Elders are buried near his *nusa*, and the place selected for libations and offerings to the dead, which are never omitted at any *kamui nomi* (festal service) to the gods, is nearby. In this ritual, offerings to Nusa-koro Kamui, like offerings to the dead, are carried out through the west door instead of being passed through the east window as is done for all other *kamui*.

[114] [1] According to Munro Nusa-koro Kamui is masculine, but Mr Watanabe says that this deity is feminine, the sister of Kamui Fuchi, and is charged with the feeding of the Ainu. He also says that Hash-inau-uk Kamui and Kinashut Kamui are siblings of Nusa-koro Kamui.—B.Z.S.

the *nusa* along the *inau* fences outside the east window will be given in the next chapter. Here it must be noted that the *nusa* referred to above stands apart from the others. The soul *nusa* of Shiramba Kamui comes next, and then the *nusa* of a feminine deity of the chase whose epithet is Hash-inau-uk Kamui, 'she who takes the *hash* [bush] *inau*'. Some elders have an esoteric name for this deity based on an old and interesting myth in which she appears as Niso-sange Mat, the woman descended from the *niso*, that is the under-piece of the wooden fire-drill. By the seashore she performs some protective function in connection with fishing, but inland, as a relative and assistant of Shiramba Kamui, she gives aid against the prowling evil spirits of the woods and hills. She not only protects the hunter but guides him to success in the chase. She is sometimes solicited by barren women and is said to have appeared in visions with an infant on her back.

Next to her *nusa*, and often continuous with it, is a fence along which are arranged *inau* offered to various *kamui*, and which is called *inau chipa*. These *kamui* will be referred to when we come to the ceremony of the house-warming but mention should be made here of Wakka-ush Kamui, also called Pet-orun (in the river) Kamui, who resides in or pervades water. This deity, usually regarded as male but sometimes as female, receives almost the same *inau* as Nusa-koro Kamui, and like him is associated with ancestor worship. A female manifestation of Wakka-ush Kamui is Nai-orun Kamui, who presides over springs and pools which appear in small valleys. Like Nusa-koro Kamui and Kinashut Kamui, Wakka-ush Kamui is besought in difficult childbirth. All the above *kamui* are usually revered as *pase kamui*.

There are a number of water spirits, regarded as assistants to or representatives of Wakka-ush Kamui, who occupy special positions in the river. Chiu-rape Guru and his spouse Chiu-rape Mat control the undercurrent, and Chi-wash Kamui the waters at the mouth of the river. Also esteemed are Chu-roro Guru (where the river flows deeply above rapids), Pan-utka-ush Guru (in the rapids), Chiu-rang Guru (in the waterfall), Hattar-koro Kamui (in the greatest depths), Ru-esan-koro Guru (in the lower reaches), and Chiwash-koro Kamui (who possesses the surf (wash) at a river mouth). Though the Ainu wash but little they use much water in ritual, and this may explain the multiplicity of water spirits.

We now come to the third class of *kamui* which I have called

At Kushiro I photographed an interesting dance which goes

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with the straining while my cinema expert filmed it; it was a ritual survival from happier times. The straining is done through a shallow basket (*inumba ichari*). The lees (*shirari*) are sometimes used again, with a little of the mixture of boiled millet and yeast and some water, to make a sort of small beer. Part of the lees is washed in the strainer and compressed till it is fairly dry. It is then called dry lees (*sat shirari*), and ought to be nutritious, but it is not very palatable and is mostly used as an offering to the evil spirits. It is supposed not only to be good enough for them but to delude them into taking it instead of grabbing the good moist (*pekuru*) lees, which contain some of the sacred brew. The straining does not properly filter the beer. Some of the millet remains suspended and gives it a milky appearance, and there is a slight deposit at the bottom of the cup. This and the moist lees are considered good, and are given to the beer-straining *inau*. The two placed on each side of the door also get their share, or rather the *kamui* get it through them.

342 273 [126] [335]

Another ceremony which must be performed before the actual house-warming is the lighting of the new fire on the hearth. Formerly this was always done with the fire-drill. I was told that the bow-drill was once in common use but never saw one. When drilling was revived for my benefit, a thong-drill was used. A hempen cord with a wooden handle at each end was wound two or three times round the upright stock, which was rotated by pulling the handles alternately. At the same time the stock was pressed down into the hole cut in the wooden 'hearth' by means of an inverted cup in which it was free to rotate. Two persons were engaged, one to pull and one to press on the cup, and fire was produced within two minutes.

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The new fire is made by the father or paternal uncle of the ingoing occupant, if alive and not too far away. Before leaving his own house the officiant offers a backward-shaven *inau* and prays to the Kiyanne Kamui (the elder *kamui*). This is a title for those ancestors, including Kamui Fuchi, who were supposed to be within reach of the hearth. But in the preliminary prayer, dictated to me, Kamui Fuchi alone was addressed, the title appearing only in the prayer said after the fire had been kindled, when she herself was addressed as Peure (new) Kamui Fuchi, i.e. newly awakened by the fire-drill. The omission of the prayer to the ancestors in the first version I heard surprised me, but on enquiry I was told that it had

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7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*rusbe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from